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26 March 1980

West Europe Report

(FOUO 15/80)



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WEST EUROPE REPORT

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COUNTRY SECTION

FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY

'NEW' STRAUSS SAID TO SEEK MORE MODERATE IMAGE

Hamburg STERN in German 14 Feb 80 pp 188-190

[Article by Werner P. D'hein: "Election Campaign: New Feathers for Strauss"]

[Text] The Union's candidate for chancellor presents himself as a thoughtful statesman--he must also win the votes of those who are afraid of him.

When the CDU Presidium in a yo-heave-ho procedure pleaded for the boycott of the Olympics, Franz Josef Strauss foamed: "That should be approached in a much more thoughtful manner." And then he informed the CDU boss Helmut Kohl that he did not want to have it happen again that such far-reaching decisions be made so quickly and without his prior consultation.

When the CDU rightists Alfred Dregger and Manfred Woerner advocated a NATO presence on the Persian Gulf and Dregger went so far as not to exclude the participation of West German troops, Strauss objected to "solos of that kind." He made it clear that the crisis "is in no way suitable for sandbox games," and that the deployment of the Bundeswehr outside of the present NATO area is "completely out of the question."

When leading CDU politicians visualized the Russians already on the Rhine, Strauss surprised his followers with the statement: "I do not regard the situation in Europe as dramatic." The candidate for chancellor warned the alarmists in his own ranks, but also the partners in the United States "against stepping over the threshold." He indicated that he, at any rate, does not want "to add fuel to the fire," but rather pursue "realistic detente policy" with the East--and went to Romania. Strauss wants to take advantage of the opportunity to streamline his image as a politician of world format in good time before the beginning of the election campaign.

The new Strauss provides for confusion in all camps. In the headquarters of the SPD there is growing doubt about whether the directional thrust which was set down in an election campaign study of the party executive committee can be maintained. It was based on "the political unpredictability

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and insufficient self-discipline of Strauss, perceived as particularly threatening by the citizens." A leading SPD associate: "At least at the moment only hard-boiled Strauss opponents will still accept that from us."

FDP chief Hans Dietrich Genscher, in turn, is trying to use Strauss's moderate position to his party's advantage. To the consternation of the SPD and its chancellor Helmut Schmidt, Genscher does not miss an opportunity to praise "the thoughtful reactions" of the Bavarian in public. He took over the Strauss terminology in regard to "the realistic" detente policy and was happy that he was criticized by Moscow's PRAVDA in the same breath with Strauss.

In this way Genscher wants to make clear that he does not belong to the "illusionists" scolded by Strauss, and hopes in this way to draw votes of people disappointed by the East to the FDP.

In the Konrad-Adenauer-Haus, CDU General Secretary Heiner Geissler is "very worried" that the Genscher calculation is correct. The CDU strategists had thus far hoped to be able to push the liberals below the 5-percent clause in the North-Rhine Westphalian Landtag elections in May, to win the parliamentary majority in Duesseldorf, and at the same time to "light a torch for the Bundestag election" (CDU Vice-President Kurt Biedenkopf). Duesseldorf's opposition leader Heinrich Koeppler said as late as mid-January in the CDU Presidium: "That is our only chance."

Koeppler's skepticism was based on January surveys, which showed that the CDU had a slight advantage compared to the SPD, the FDP was trudging along at 6 percent, and the Greens with their 3 to 4 percent were clearly below the 5 percent predicted for the country as a whole. Now, however, the CDU fears that, in view of the world situation, interest in the "Greens" will diminish still further, and that the FDP is collecting points with its foreign minister. Immediately the new slogan was issued: Not a single friendly word about Genscher. The second problem at CDU headquarters: The strategy of the "argumentative campaign," blessed by the party executive committee at the turn of the year, is first of all moved to domestic political themes in the order of economy and social affairs, energy as well as family. "Peace and security policy" ranks only in fourth place. The "intensified exposition of the candidate for chancellor" was not to begin until the summer.

As yet CDU Federal Executive Secretary Ulf Fink does not see "any reason" to change "the carefully planned campaign." But the current situation will necessarily lead to a change of concept. For since the Soviet adventure in Afghanistan domestic political issues have been pushed into the background. A CDU planner: "At the moment we are not attracting anyone with the family issue." And the pre-election slogan, already on posters, "With optimism against socialism" no longer fits so well into the world situation.

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The intention consciously not to lead a "Strauss campaign" in the forefield of the spring elections in Baden-Wuerttemberg, the Saar, and North-Rhine Westphalia, is something the Christian Democrats will have to give up. This is highly inconvenient for CDU chief Helmut Kohl, for he wanted to appear as the real Number 1 of the CDU at least on the Rhine and on the Ruhr and to shine up his tarnished reputation once again.

But there Strauss is ahead. His associates are already criticizing CDU headquarters for not developing a sufficiently flexible position with regard to the new world situation. For example: The pre-election issue of DEUTSCHES MONATSBLETT, which was delivered to all CDU members at the end of January, they point out, takes only marginal notice of Afghanistan and shows candidate for chancellor Strauss only in a miserable little picture on page 2. But on the other hand the readers find a full-page mobilization article by their chairman Kohl. "We have the better arguments and the better team," writes Kohl. However, not a word about his top candidate. Strauss disdainfully: "People in Bonn will have to learn a thing or two."

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

JOBERT INTERVIEWED ON FRENCH, U. S. POLICY VIEWS

Paris PARIS MATCH in French 22 Feb 80 p 68

[Interview with former French foreign minister Michel Jobert by Laurence Masurel; date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Do you believe, as 65 percent of the Americans and more than 50 percent of the French do, that the present crisis may ultimately lead to a world war?

[Answer] No! "They" will not fight. But "they"--the Russians and the Americans--have frequently made all the others fight. This process may continue--those "regional wars," to quote Kissinger--those wars that have made 1945-1980 mankind's bloodiest era. Immediately after the American presidential elections, in the fall of 1980, the tone will change between the two empires, and they will revert to their objective complicities.

[Question] Do you think American policy, which some observers consider inconsistent, indeed even preposterous, is liable to push the USSR into a general war it does not want at this time?

[Answer] No! Carter is nicely mending his fences at home and the USSR is taking advantage of the American election year, during which it can negotiate nothing with the Americans, to move a few pawns forward by taking some risks.

[Question] Couve de Murville views the deployment of NATO Eurostrategic missiles as more dangerous for the future than the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Do you agree with him?

[Answer] Yes! Except for the unlucky Afghan who bears the brunt of the initial Soviet onslaught! It is obvious, however, that the nuclear balance or imbalance between East and West was and continues to be more important than a colonial operation conducted by the USSR. I am assuming that Couve de Murville did not mean that he favored NATO's atomic disarmament. He simply made a common-sense observation.

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[Question] Do you believe that France, a medium-size power, can really influence the foreign policy of the two superpowers and prevent the crisis from spreading?

[Answer] Yes! We must break away from the excessive domination of the superpowers. This is the only liberating attitude for us, for many other nations and to enable Europe to have some reality. I have been repeatedly saying this...since 1973. Yet by running with the hare and hunting with the hounds, we shall end up falling into trap after trap, like the Helsinki agreements by which Europeans, as they did at Munich in 1938, surrendered to the Russians and Americans who were in cahoots.

[Question] Is it not your opinion that foreign policy is now dependent on trade and that boycotting the Moscow Olympic Games is hypocritical if at the same time we continue to lend huge sums to the Soviets at very low interest rates?

[Answer] Yes! I agree, although your analysis is incomplete because the underhanded game of trade and finance has not yet fully revealed itself. As for the Olympic Games, they form part of that world of symbols visible from afar to public opinion. Hence their emotional importance. But whether they are held or not certainly does not change the basic issues. And especially the presence of the Russians in Afghanistan!

[Question] Do you believe Colonel Qadhdhafi's hostile attitude toward France can have some effect on French policy in Africa (Tunisia, Chad, etc.)?

[Answer] Yes! Because it creates additional difficulties for France and gets it involved in demonstrations and interventions that ultimately affect its normal course toward a long-term operation with African, Mediterranean, and Middle Eastern countries, outside the control of the great powers.

[Question] The image you have built for yourself the past 4 years is one of an amiable opponent. Are you going to harden your position between now and 1981?

[Answer] No! I am not a weathercock, but a man of conviction, and I hope, of equity. The most important thing at the present time is not, as they say, "to raise the roof," but rather to be able to speak out.

[Question]: If you are a candidate in 1981, what will be your main campaign issues?

[Answer] The return to national legitimacy free from the political parties, from their division, and from the way they forcibly degrade such legitimacy.

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That is what I mean by being "elsewhere." A legitimacy that opens the way to living democracy, to the responsibility of citizens in a community life they would like, to respect for citizens by simplification of legislative and administration procedures, to a simple tax system conducive to activity. A legitimacy that opens the way to freedom for France and Europe.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

PCF'S ALINEMENT WITH USSR SEEN UNITING COMMUNISTS

Paris L'EXPRESS in French 26 Jan 80 pp 82-83

[Article by Jacques Roure and Michel Jacques]

[Text] Tuesday morning, 22 January, in a large company in the suburbs of Paris. Upon his arrival, the communist leader made the rounds of the "comrades." To sound them out. The night before, on television, for an hour and a half, Georges Marchais, combining brash humor with historical accounts and Stalinist verbosity with folksy, self-conscious laughter, justified the alinement of the Communist Party [PCF] with Moscow. Does the steamroller method still pay off as it once did?

In short order, the communist leader was reassured. Everything was going fine! "Excellent, Marchais, yesterday evening!" Not a false note, even among those many who had deserted the meetings of cells.

During the evening of that same Tuesday, listening to the radio, in his R30 with gray upholstery which was taking him to his house in Champigny, after the Central Committee meeting, Marchais, however, had every reason to be gloomy. By persecuting Sakharov, the Kremlin, from which he had returned was going to complicate his task. Difficult to believe, as with Afghanistan, that American imperialism had compelled and forced the Soviets to react to protect themselves from a serious threat.

The next day's L'HUMA reported his "disapproval." From that time on, Party spokesmen would make use of this small, timid gesture of autonomy to boast of their independence vis-a-vis Moscow. And, all at once, to explain that it was unworthy to speak of their alinement with respect to Afghanistan.

It was not by chance that Marchais, on Channel [Antenne] 2, on 22 January, had purely and simply repeated his Muscovite one-man show on TF 1, on 11 January. He knew that he would shock most of the televiewers, that he would make others laugh. But he expected above all--and that alone was important--to rally the majority of the communists, whether or not in opposition, around a party attacked from all sides and nearly martyred.

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Thursday, 17 January, in a Parisian cell made up for the most part of officeworkers and intellectuals. There had not been such a crowd for quite some time. First: criticisms poured out on the right of peoples to handle their own affairs, respect for the principle of noninterference.

Second: the old anti-imperialist reflex, turned exclusively against the Americans, was revived. Third: it was time to close ranks. Anticommunism was being voiced from all sides and was given top billing by L'HUMANITE every day with a complacency which resembled satisfaction. Above and beyond differences, it was necessary to take sides, to keep that which promoted rapprochement, to forget that which was divisive. "And then, having been attacked with such violence, Marchais must not be so wrong about Afghanistan!" The cycle is now complete.

"In the cells," a communist journalist explains, "no one is clearly defending the official position; however, everyone is agreeing to keep quiet about his grievances to fly to the aid of the party." Even members of the opposition are rallying in self-defense. "For the first time in a long while, I feel isolated from the party," admitted Antoine Spire, the author of a petition against the Soviet intervention which produced only 250 signatures. Under a call for "unity in the struggles" with the socialists--a currently schismatic subject--the rate of memberships has dropped from 900 to 100 signatures per day.

L'HUMA Sounds Reveille

Thus, paradoxically, for three weeks the alinement with Moscow, which revived anticommunist criticism, has reunited the communists. Isolated, perhaps, but now more unified, with all cracks filled. "Those Who Stick By the PCF When It Is Attacked," "Response Gains In Scope," "Popular Response Increases," "The Fight For Truth"... Every morning big headlines in L'HUMA sound reveille on the walls of the beleaguered camp.

Although overall the tactics are paying off, cracking sounds are still being heard. In the apparat, in the electorate, in the satellite organizations, such as the CGT [General Confederation of Labor].

It is possible, for example, that Parisian deputy Paul Laurent, who was previously the number two man of the party and friend of the "deviationist" Henri Fiszbin, in the Politburo on 4 January favored a condemnation of the Kabul coup. Michel Charlot, who works in the international sector, is leaving the Central Committee. Most of the newsmen of the communist daily have not signed the intellectuals' anticommunist appeal; the same is true of Francois Hinker, editor in chief of REVOLUTION, the weekly which is to begin publication in March.

At the level of the electorate, the slippage is equally appreciable; however, it continues to be limited relatively to the scope of the double and stinging denial delivered by Moscow against the myth of liberalization.

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On Thursday, a Louis Harris-LE MATIN survey indicated that 31 percent of communist voters are not in agreement with the position of the PCF [French Communist Party] on Afghanistan. However, only 14 percent feel the party should align itself with Moscow and another 14 percent believe that over the last few months the PCF has become less democratic. The Kabul coup and the deportation of Sakharov could have been devastating. They only caused some damage. More than a year before the next election, Marchais feels that this damage can be repaired. It will be all the more repairable provided the drive belts withstand the shock. And above all the principal drive belt: the CGT.

Wednesday, 23 January. At 209 rue La Fayette, confederation headquarters in Paris, the National Confederal Committee met. To talk about problems of labor demands, education purchasing power. However, the only subject on which discussion became heated was the Afghanistan affair. "We cannot settle for a goat and cabbage position. In the name of our principles, we must condemn the Soviet invasion." On the speakers' platform "members of the opposition" Claude Germon, Jeanne Parent and Dinah Caudron attacked forcefully. But for a lost cause. The room was turbulent, even "hateful," according to the testimony of one of the speakers. There, too, they closed ranks.

However, on 7 January, the Confederal Bureau, the highest organization of the largest French union--42 percent of the votes in the industrial tribunal elections, including a good half of the noncommunist votes--was divided down the middle: eight for condemning the Soviet intervention, eight against... Among them were the number three man of the CGT, Rene Buhl, and two communists, Jean-Louis Moynot and Christiane Gilles, two proteges of Georges Seguy.

The Hard Core

However, the organizational structure of the CGT permits it to deal with this kind of indiscipline. In the Executive Committee the day after, a heavy majority controlled by the communists rallied to the position favorable to the Soviets.

In the National Confederal Committee, only the union and federation secretaries, the apparatchiks, have the right to vote. They are almost always communist activists. Here one reaches the limits of the opening up stated by Georges Seguy at the 40th Congress in Grenoble. The diversity of opinions present at the base and the summit is nonexistent in the intermediate echelons. The PCF can lock up the apparat when it seems advisable to do so. This explains the crushing disapproval shown to protestors during the last meeting.

A CGT communist cadre asserts that, although the debates which took place at the confederation's summit meeting were not made public, the communist apparat's steamroller reportedly has already "normalized" the union. The

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party leadership had already endured with ill-humor the fact that the CGT had adopted a less clear-cut position than that of the PCF on Afghanistan or on the installation of American missiles in Europe. Seguy had to insist that the communique on missiles be published in its entirety in L'HUMANITE.

This autonomy will be all the more relative in the coming months if, according to an admission by a CGT leader: "The PCF, isolated, has need of a point of support, of a shift of opinion, and cannot find it except in the CGT."

The theme which will be used here to rally the hesitant will be the fight against austerity. Here, too, are tactics which are paying off. L'EXPRESS correspondents throughout France have questioned the activists. The answers are revealing: "The union struggle has nothing to do with political differences" (a worker in a watchmaking shop in Besancon); "One cannot let go of the union in the midst of an economic crisis" (an activists from the building sector); "Afghanistan is a long way from here, and we have enough problems here without adding some more" (SNIAS [National Industrial Aerospace Company] in Bouguenais); "The Soviet intervention bothers me; however, closer at hand we have unemployment, layoffs, etc." (a delegate from a company in Marseilles).

Thus, thanks to social discontent and economic malaise, effectively channeled by the CGT, the Communist Party hopes to continue controlling around its beleaguered camp a maneuvering force which greatly exceeds the hard core of its electorate.

The Militia in Action

Studio 102, Radio House, Monday, 21 January. Georges Marchais is going to participate in the broadcast "Cards on the Table." The guests of the PCF occupy the studio en masse where, during the broadcast, they will noisily show their approval--an exceptional happening. At the entrance to the studio, the Communist Security Service--private militia--take over control of admissions, substituting themselves for the customary attendants of Radio-France and the press service of Channel 2. At times it is necessary for the press attaches to intervene to convince the shock force activists to allow certain journalists to enter. "You are a provocateur!" an activist shouts at L'EXPRESS photographer, Bernard Charlon, who is there to cover the event, therefore, to do his job. Several incidents with hournalists took place. The management of Channel 2 did not react.

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COUNTRY SECTION

FRANCE

BRIEFS

ESPIONAGE OBJECTIVE--The fuel consumption of the Mirage 2000 was apparently the focus of the attentions of Soviet Consul Genadiy Travkov, who was expelled from France on 11 February. Travkov was arrested while in possession of documents on the fuel consumption of the Mirage 2000 jet engines. From such data, Soviet experts could calculate the exact range of the aircraft, which is provided with nuclear missiles capable of reaching targets in East Europe. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 3 Mar 80 p 21]

SX MISSILE PLANS--[Minister of Defense] Yvon Bourges is more and more in favor of the mobile missile known as the SX. The code name of the project is "Danone" and the missile will be a part of the future nuclear force, alongside the nuclear submarine force. This missile would be mounted on trucks about the size of the tractor-trailer type that transports dairy products, hence the code name "Danone" [after a French dairy company]. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 3 Mar 80 p 21]

GENERAL MERY'S SUCCESSOR--The [new] chief of the General Staff, successor to Armed Forces Chief of Staff General Guy Mery, will be appointed next October from among the President's staff. He will be General Bertrand de Montaudouin, currently personal chief of staff to Valery Giscard d'Estaing. Appointed to head the armed forces in 1975, Mery, too, was selected from among the president's staff; he will be 61 in October. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 3 Mar 80 p 21]

ARMS TO CHINA--The President's office has informed the businesses concerned that the sale of weapons to the PRC will probably remain strictly forbidden unless special permission is obtained. There is no desire to alarm Moscow in this respect. [Text] [Paris LA LETTRE DE L'EXPANSION in French 10 Mar 80 p 3]

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

TERRORISTS NOW STRIKING VICTIMS WITHIN FACTORY

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 23 Feb 80 pp 1, 2

[Article by Massimo Nava: "Now the Factory Is Struck on the Inside. Leaders and Trade Unionists Are Targets"]

[Text] Terrorists decide who must die in the country, but they do not forget their main objective, the factory. Now they go through gates, strike directly on the inside. Thursday morning, in the cloak room of a department of the Breda company, a 27-year old worker named Corrado Santomartino, a PCI activist, was beaten until bloody. Thursday evening: 53-year old Pietro Dallera was shot in the legs three times, a few meters away from the department that he supervises as chief of the Alfa Romeo company of Arese, where he was a former worker and where he built a career in 34 years of hard-earned promotions. This is the first time that terrorists shot inside a factory. Yesterday morning, still at the Alfa company, while the workers gathered in the "paint" department for a protest meeting, there was news of an odious telephone warning made to the home of a trade union delegate: "Watch out; next time it will be your turn." And again yesterday morning, at the Sit Siemens: Antonio Novarini, PCI town councillor, an employee in the forefront of the struggle against terrorism in the factory, received a death threat by mail, in a letter to the factory council.

These are the victims of our hidden and daily enemy--former workers, present workers, lower-level chiefs, trade union representatives. They are not just a symbol, and this causes mounting fear in those who work beside them, at the same level. During these first hours of the "leg shooting," Pietro Dallera actually felt an absurd sensation of relief: he had been "warned;" he had been living as if in a nightmare for 1 1/2 years.

At the Alfa company, the reconstruction of the wounding provoked new suspicions and inquiries. One wonders how it was possible for the three terrorists to know every movement of the chief, how they could appropriate

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an automobile inside (an Alfetta 2,000 without number plates), how they finally were able to leave undisturbed through the gates, leaving false permits at the gate keepers' posts when the alarm had already been set off in the factory.

Before more than 3,000 workers gathered in the big shed, the secretary of the Milan trade union, Antonio Pizzinato, gave an explanation of "how it is possible": there are supporters; they are in the departments; "they are among us, even if their logic is extraneous to the trade union movement and the working class."

After the customary condemnations, Pizzinato launched an appeal to come to a decision and to remove all doubt--an appeal for a "great push forward" in the struggle against terrorism to match the "great push forward" of the terrorists, themselves. In other words: "it is clear that going on strike is not enough. The terrorists and supporters must realize that they are being sought and stopped. Real vigilance on the part of the people is necessary, without this being substituted for the police and the magistracy." Then Pizzinato explained "the counter strategy" that was agreed upon by the political and trade union forces. Next Tuesday there will be a meeting of the factory council, open to representatives of the trade union, the police, and the magistracy, to be followed by initiatives in all factories.

The meeting ended and the workers returned to their work. Two big placards were attached to the walls of the shed: the organization of the autonomous group attacks the strategy of the trade union with language that is not even veiled. Pizzinato said: "These signs are silk-screened in the factory; in short, they are printed with factory equipment."

According to Pizzinato, the events of the recent days confirm the lines of a strategy that the terrorists made public in a long document (communique No 8) that was distributed in the Alfa company during the past weeks. Incidentally, it is a document that indicates complete knowledge of the productive process: "they are facts," said Pizzinato, "that are known to very few persons and only inside the technical department."

In the opinion of the secretary of the local trade union, the phase of the attack against the "finished product," carried out on the outside is practically over. He said: "Today the objective is to attack the factory on the inside, bring the trade union to its knees, by weakening its organization at the base, that is, the delegates, who for months have been attacked and threatened. To obstruct the operation of the factory by striking at the leaders who are most frank and most capable, and to weaken the trade union structure means attacking those forces that still react to the terrorist phenomenon and that mobilize the people. In the past, terrorism

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sought followers from within; today it is trying to implement a destructive plan that will more effectively weaken the remaining forces that oppose it."

Their methods are now apparent, specifically on three levels. "There is the autonomous area that does not extol armed struggle, but carries out a role of constant objection to the trade union and of proselytism. Then there is the limited band of those who make anonymous telephone calls, indicate displacements, distribute leaflets. Finally there the few who shoot. The latter most likely are no longer in the factory, but have already joined the clandestine group."

The others are the "workers" among workers, among the 20,000 who each day go through the gates of Arese; among the many who, in spite of everything, remain.

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

UNIONS' REACTION TO PCI CHIAROMONTE'S 'RINASCITA' ARTICLE

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 22 Feb 80 p 2

[Article by Paolo Glisenti: "Benvenuto and Carniti Reply to PCI Criticisms of the Union"]

[Text] The one-two punch delivered by the PCI within the past 24 hours to the credibility of trade-union leadership and of its present line and conduct is one of these events destined to make history. The article by Gerardo Chiaromonte (head of the party's Economics Office) in the most recent issue of RINASCITA--which goes back to the specifics of the discussion opened some months ago by Amendola--was the first sign of a far more complex and decisive initiative. The PCI once more wants to become involved personally in life in the factories, withdrawing the delegated authority it had in recent years left entirely to the trade unions. The synchronized way the Botteghe Oscure [PCI headquarters] accomplished this "blitz" against the highest level of political management and at the base had the effect of overwhelming force.

The first step of this strategic turn in the relationship between the party and the factory, which will be made official beginning today in the Fiat National Production Conference, was the "mass survey of workers' conditions" in the Turin plant whose results (partial) was made public yesterday. A total of 22,000 workers in 15 Fiat plants replied (anonymously) to a questionnaire containing 16 questions. It was an unpublished insight into the identity of the Italian worker which reveals surprising aspects from the sociological point of view but which is alarming for those whose "trade is trade unionism."

A total of 36 percent of Fiat workers--that is a plurality believe that the most important factor in employment is a "satisfactory and steady wage" and as much as 65 percent believe that their present employment is "excellent or good." However, who should be paid the most? A good 20 percent dismissed the egalitarianism demanded by the trade unions [Chiaromonte in RINASCITA sees in this one of the weak points of the strategy advanced in the 1970s], and replied that "those with better training" should be rewarded; 15 percent believe that it is right to recompense "those who produce more."

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Let's move ahead. Only 50 percent of Fiat workers are members of the trade union. Why? "The trade unions do not do enough for the workers," say 21 percent of those interviewed. "The trade union is too divided," reply another 16 percent. Then what should the trade union be concerned with? "Increasing wages" (30 percent), "Make everyone pay dues" (29 percent).

Descending to the plant level, is close collaboration between workers and "bosses" possible? A total of 44 percent go so far as to consider this "necessary because it is to the advantage of all." Only 25 percent believe it "impossible." Turning the page we deal with the big themes of the country. First of all terrorism. How is it to be fought? One worker out of two believes that there is nothing to do but "administer the most severe penalties" and barely one in five hopes for "greater social justice."

A flash of qualunquismo [a post-World War II political movement with broad demagogic appeal]: Thirty percent of the workers say "it is none of my business" when they are asked why Fiat in 1979 fired the 61 Mirafiori workers; but immediately there is a good plurality (30 percent) who declare that Fiat did it to "get rid of people who used violence." Only 21 percent interpreted it as a gesture of "defiance directed at the trade union."

This is a sensational confirmation in deeds of the suggestions made first by Amendola and then by Chiaromonte which were launched like stones into a dovecote. But there is reason for careful thought even in the house of the communists. The majority of the workers denounced the uncertainties of the "Berlinguer line." What then? Then reestablishment of the relationship between the workers' party, the trade union and the rank and file is posed as a problem which does not promise easy absolution for anyone. The signal has been received. The trade-union leaders seem stunned: Benvenuto (UIL [Italian Union of Labor]) and Carniti (CISL [Italian Confederation of Labor Unions]) together with minor leaders of the federations yesterday replied by simply imputing to Chiaromonte and to the PCI a methodological error in uncovering these problems in a noninstitutional setting, which could generate confusion and loss of direction. Someone tried to throw the ball back by accusing the parties (above all the communists) of not having always cooperated in making the trade-union task easier. But these are skirmishes, for the time being.

The scalpel was plunged deeply concerning "betrayals" (by the trade union) of the southern problems, into the corporativism of the struggles, into the falling apart of the movement and the workers, of the movement and public opinion, into the bureaucratization of roles and functions, into the arbitrary assumption of "unnatural" tasks.

But it is obvious that the PCI itself does not launch these accusations by making a mountain out of a molehill. There is, evidently, rank and file opposition between the communist trade unions and the socialist trade unions, and still more between the communist trade union and the historically more corporative trade union such as the CISL. However the PCI wants to get to

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the bottom of the affair. It will do it beginning today by discussing Fiat, the symbolic test of the evolution of social relations. Chiaromonte denied yesterday that his party believes it has "exclusive authority" over the working class and to represent it by divine investiture." Instead, it is certain that it wants to once more become even ideological point of reference for this working class which is no longer proletarian and is now bourgeois in its aspirations (as the Fiat questionnaire shows).

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COUNTRY SECTION

ITALY

INITIAL RESULTS OF PCI QUESTIONNAIRE TO FIAT WORKERS

Milan CORRIERE DELLA SERA in Italian 22 Feb 80 p 13

[Article by Giuseppe d'Adda: "On Wages, Productivity and Strikes as Seen by the Fiat Worker"]

[Text] Turin. He is a little more than 37 years old. He comes from the south. He goes to the factory every day as did his father. He doesn't read newspapers much. He is fairly critical of the trade unions. He believes that the most important thing in work is a satisfactory and regular wage. He considers cooperation with bosses necessary. He considers West Germany the country where workers count most. This profile of the Fiat worker, even though broadly sketched, is rather surprising. It is much different from the man in overalls who crowds into trade-union events, who stares out of the photographs of demonstrations in the streets.

But the PCI, at least apparently, is not at all surprised. It limits itself to noting that the reality of the factory and of the human "capital" of the largest Italian private firm have changed very profoundly over the past 10 years. And it prepares to deal with this new image of the Fiat universe.

Without embarrassment and without uncertainty the PCI therefore yesterday presented the initial results of the "mass survey" on workers' conditions at Fiat (it began in recent weeks with the distribution of thousands of questionnaires among the workers of the plants belonging to the Turin automobile company). In terms of breadth, the survey appears to be unprecedented. It is one of the most important "parallel" initiatives of the National Communist Conference on Fiat which opens today at Turin's Teatro Nuovo [New Theater].

The top leaders of the party will participate in the conference. With it the PCI plans to draft a series of proposals to revitalize Fiat. For this reason, before beginning their action, the communists wanted to specifically feel the pulse of the workers in the factories, trying to understand what they actually think and want.

The means chosen to carry out the survey was the public opinion poll. Thus, in recent weeks, the communist activists distributed a questionnaire in the

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plants (the distribution began on 16 January and is still going on in various plants of the group).

For the time being, the survey merely involved the workers who were asked to answer, anonymously, 54 questions. So far the answers of 6,464 workers have been studied (72 percent of those questioned returned the questionnaire). For this reason, when commenting yesterday on the results of the survey, Napoleone Colajanni, vice president of communist senators; Lucio Libertini, head of the PCI industry committee; Renzo Gianotti, secretary of the Turin federation; Aris Accornero, head of the CESPE [PCI Center for Study of Economic Policy], and Piero Fassino, of the Turin Factory Committee, emphasized that the data published must be considered only indicative since they are partial.

However, it is already possible to broadly trace (even within the limits of this kind of survey) a first "profile" of the Fiat worker. It must be said immediately that 45 percent of those questioned (of which 14 percent were women) had or have a worker father, and that only 17 percent were born in Turin. In the area of education, 36 percent finished elementary school, 30 percent secondary school. Newspaper reading is low: Only 15 percent say they read them regularly.

But let us turn to the opinion answers. They begin with employment and they begin with a surprise (or confirmation). Almost 37 percent of those questioned believe that the most important thing about being in a factory is "a satisfactory and steady wage." Instead, 31 percent consider that a work "environment that is healthy and not harmful" is determining in terms of work. The wage and the quality of the environment of work are therefore the aspects of the factory that are considered most important. Sixty-five percent believe that the kind of work they do is "good or fairly good." More than half the workers agreed that harm from the environment was the thing that concerned them most in the factory. This was not true of their opinion on who should be paid most: Twenty-seven percent said "those who do heavy work," 20 percent said "those with the most training," and 15 percent said "those who produce more." Furthermore, half the workers have never thought of leaving Fiat, which represents "steady pay" or at most an ingrained "habit."

Several questions were dedicated to politics and the PCI seeks to use the answers to find the reason for its recent election reverses. For example, 36 percent consider that the decrease in votes was caused by "uncertainties in its policies," while 22 percent said it was caused "by mistaken choices." It was said that all these answers sat well with the PCI leaders since they represent "a criticism within the party."

The one that refers directly to the Fiat, and the trade union. It begins with the 61 dismissals in October. Twenty-three percent of the workers are not at all interested in the disciplinary measures taken by the plant. Concerning the reasons for the dismissals, instead, 29 percent believed that Fiat wanted to "rid itself of persons inclined to violence" and 21 percent understood it as a "challenge to the trade union."

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The great majority of the workers boast of confidence (or even pride, as it was defined yesterday) concerning the state of health of the company which is believed to be competitive with foreign automobile companies. Those who have serious doubts about the soundness of Fiat blame the present difficult situation on the managers (32 percent), on the trade union (18 percent), on the workers (12 percent).

Half of those surveyed were not members of the union. Furthermore, 21 percent believe that the low membership of the Fiat trade-union organizations is because "the trade unions do not do enough for the workers." Only 32 percent of the workers said they always participated in strikes, while 20 percent daid never or almost never.

Concerning the national labor contract signed in July, the overall judgment is not positive (it is unsatisfactory for 46 percent). Thirty percent of the workers indicate "wage increases" as the problem the trade union should most be concerned with at this time (in second place, with 29 percent, is "make everyone pay dues").

The questionnaire concludes with the questions that received the most unexpected replies. The first demonstrates overwhelmingly that 45 percent of the workers consider that cooperation "between workers and bosses" is "necessary because it is to the advantage of everyone." The second (answered by 43 percent of those surveyed) indicates that 31 percent of the workers (obviously those who replied) consider that the German Federal Republic is a country "where the workers have more power than in Italy." For the record, the Soviet Union is in the fifth place (7 percent) and socialist in the 12th and last place (1.6 percent) together with China.

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COUNTRY SECTION

SPAIN

BRIEFS

ARMORED VEHICLES WITH 'HOT' MISSILES--A joint testing program for the Hako turret equipped with a 'HOT' antitank missile launcher is underway with the participation of the Franco-German Euromissile Economic Interest Group which built both the turret and the missile. It is foreseen that the Hako turret will be built in Spain to equip two types of armored vehicles: the BMR [expansion unknown], a Spanish armored vehicle built by Pegaso, and the M41 tank, an updated Spanish version of the Chrysler (USA) made tank. Euromissile announced that on 29 and 30 November 1979, test firings from these vehicles took place at a demonstration for the Spanish Army. Four firings were successful. Three of these were done from the BMR and directed at a stationary target at 3,400 meters and at a mobile target at 1,500 meters. One missile was fired from the M41 at a stationary target at 3,400 meters. [Text] [Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 1 Mar 80 p 37]

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